

**EUROPEAN HISTORY**  
**SECTION II**  
**PART A**

**(Suggested writing time-45 minutes)**  
**Percent of Section II score-45**

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying Documents 1-28. (Some of the documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.) Write your answer on the lined pages of the Section II free-response booklet.

This question is designed to test your ability to work with and understand historical documents. Write an essay that:

- Has a relevant thesis and supports that thesis with evidence from the documents.
- Uses a majority of the documents.
- Analyzes the documents by grouping them in as many appropriate ways as possible. **Does not simply summarize the documents individually.**
- Takes into account both the sources of the documents and the authors' point of view (POV.)

You may refer to relevant historical information not mentioned in the documents.

1. Analyze the causes of the Revolution of 1848 in Paris, as well as the reasons behind the failure of this event.

**Historical Background:** The Revolution of 1830, resulting in the "bourgeois monarchy" of Louis-Philippe had left France hopelessly divided and disappointed. Though Louis-Philippe did a remarkable job cultivating the "cult of Napoleon" with the construction of the Arc de Triumph in 1836 and the return of Napoleon's ashes to France in 1840, overall France was an economic and political disaster. The wealthy bourgeoisie elite had actually tightened their control over the ancient nobility, forcing many nobles back to their estates in the provinces. The rich commoners of France dominated politics and voting rights. *French republicans* demanded universal male suffrage, while *French liberals* worked to create a constitutional monarchy following the English model. *French socialists*, often called *social republicans*, wanted to create a state based on universal suffrage, dedicated to worker relief and reform. Republicans, liberals, socialists and the poor of Paris were all bitterly disappointed by 1848. France had fought two revolutions, yet is seemed all for naught. In February 1848 revolutionary political and social ideas came in violent conflict with a severe economic crisis, sending a shudder of shock waves throughout all of reactionary Europe. It was widely understood that a violent class war had broken out in France and Europe was doomed to repeat the carnage of 1789-1815.

Document 1

"The state and the government must guarantee workers the 'right to work,' that is guaranteed employment in times of economic hardship or in times of worker layoffs. This worker relief should be in the form of National Workshops where the unemployed can be put to work digging canals, leveling hills, draining swamps, paving roads, and building construction projects. The state and the government must guarantee workers decent wages, even in times of intense competition."

Louis Blanc  
French Social Republican (socialist)  
From the book *The Organization of Work*  
1839

Document 2

"What is private property? Private property is the theft of the possessions of one social class from another social class. Outlaw private property! Outlaw property ownership! Outlaw the state!"

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon  
French Radical Socialist  
From the pamphlet *What is Property*  
1840

Document 3

"Unless the wealthy bourgeoisie raise, little by little, the conditions of the lower classes and reform the power structure of France, the ruling class will have to suffer another 1789!"

Léon Faucher  
French Radical Socialist  
1846

#### Document 4

"The state of the national economy is dismal. The supply of grain and bread prices were just beginning to recover from the catastrophic harvest of 1840-1841, when the economy suffered the equally disastrous harvests of 1846 and 1847. The potato blight of 1846-1847 has virtually wiped out the potato harvest. Bread prices since 1845 have doubled, while worker wages have virtually been frozen over the past ten years. Current estimates place the unemployment rate in Paris at 50%, with unemployment throughout the rest of France is approaching 23%. Bankruptcies have increased in France by 31% since 1846, while sales of finished goods have dramatically dropped by over 27% since 1844."

Report to King Louis-Philippe  
From Casimir Périer  
Chief Finance Minister  
February 1848

#### Document 5

"The economy of France under the government of Louis-Philippe still belongs to that of the *ancien régime*. Transportation development remains backward, the national unification of markets and prices is far from developed, and agriculture still is the dominant economic sector, with over 87% of the French labor force engaged in agricultural production. France is currently experiencing a severe depression, brought on by three successive years of catastrophic harvests. Current estimates place French unemployment levels at close to 30%."

British White Paper (briefing and policy paper)  
Presented to the British Cabinet  
February, 1848

#### Document 6

"The trouble with this country is that there are too many people like you who imagine there has been a revolution in France! To say that electoral reform is a joke when our government has graciously extended the vote from 100,000 to 170,000 citizens shows that you Republicans are unreasonable."

Casimir Périer  
Wealthy Banker and Chief Finance Minister of Louis-Philippe  
Conversation with a Republican Deputy  
February, 1848

Document 7

“Join Us!  
Demand Electoral Reform for the Bourgeoisie and Worker!  
Demand Universal Male Suffrage!  
Parisian Banquet and Parade for a Republican France!  
22 February-19:00  
Palace de Concor”

Radical Republican Rally Poster  
Paris  
February, 1848

Document 8

“We of the bourgeoisie should be and must be outraged at the horrible lack of progress in the area of electoral reform by the Orléanist monarchy of Louis-Philippe! Why the revolution of 1789? Why the revolution of 1830? What has been accomplished when across the sea, without any revolutions, one out of every eight Englishman has the vote where here in France, the nation of progress and liberalism, barely one out of every thirty-five Frenchman can vote? Where is the promised bourgeoisie representation and suffrage reform? How long are we willing to wait?”

Editorial  
*Gazette de Bourgeois Paris* (The Newspaper of Bourgeois Paris)  
19 February, 1848

Document 9

“The planned parade and rally for 22 February will be dominated by provocative and inflammatory speeches by the young radicals-Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc and Lamartine-all demanding universal suffrage and electoral reform. Projected numbers of people attending and participating on 22 February are in the tens of thousands.”

National Guard Intelligence Briefing  
Compiled from an unnamed police informant  
20 February, 1848

Document 10

"The Orléanist government of His Majesty, Louis-Phillipe forbids the planned parade and rally for the night 22 of February, as well as any and all subsequent events. The government will not tolerate red and republican agitation and will go to all ends to preserve the peace and social order of France."

François Guizot  
Premier for King Louis-Phillipe  
21 February, 1848

Document 11

"The next day, 23 February, large crowds assembled in the pouring rain, screaming for the resignation of Guizot. The crowd was peaceful, yet extremely loud and boisterous. When the Paris National Guard, made up of middle class recruits, ordered the mob to disperse, the crowd refused to budge and shouted more insults at the soldiers. A commander of the Guard ordered his men to shoot into the crowd, but the soldiers refused to fire. Later that evening, amid screaming and shouting, the soldiers panicked and fired into the crowd, killing over forty. The bodies of the dead were carried through the streets of Paris and barricades began to go up in the working class neighborhoods."

Newspaper Article  
*The London Times*  
24 February, 1848

Document 12

"On 23 February, in a downpour, five battalions of the National Guard of Paris were confronted by over thirty-five thousand demonstrators. The troops maintained good discipline and order, with no incidents taking place during the day. At around 18:40 a brawl broke out on the *Boulevard des Capucines* between angry crowd elements and three platoons of the National Guard. Shots were fired from the crowd into the ranks of the Guard. The Guard returned volley fire, resulting in the death of sixteen rebels. Later that night the bodies of the sixteen victims were drawn in carriages by torchlight, unleashing working class anger in the neighborhoods of Saint-Antoine and Rue Traversine."

Action Report  
National Guard de Paris  
3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion  
24 February, 1848

Document 13

“Louis-Philippe abdicates and flees to England!  
The French Second Republic proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville!  
Provisional Government Formed in Paris”

Newspaper Headlines  
*Münchener Abendpost*  
25 February, 1848

Document 14

“The Political Composition of the Provisional Government:

- Six republicans, the most notable being the poet Lamartine.
- Two social republicans, the most notable being Louis Blanc.
- One radical socialist, the most notable being 'Worker Albert.'”

Newspaper Article  
*Gazette de Paris*  
26 February 1848

Document 15

“The Provisional Government Decrees:

- Universal male suffrage for all males over the age of twenty-one, with national elections for the National Assembly to follow in April.
- National Workshops and unemployment relief of two francs per day for those that enroll.
- The abolition of slavery in all colonies of France.
- Universal tax increase of 45% for all adult males over the age of twenty-one.”

Official Decrees of the Provisional Government  
28 February 1848

Document 16

"Is France a Republic?"

"In April, an astonishing 84% of the eligible voters (adult males) in France cast ballots for the National Assembly, many peasants and workers voting for the first time in their lives. Yet, how are we to look at the results? Our people, the radical republicans and social republicans, won only 100 seats from 900. Over 400 seats were won by 'legitimists' demanding a Bourbon Restoration with the remaining seats controlled by the *Orléanists* calling for one of Louis-Philippe sons to rule. To protect the revolution we must embrace the works of Blanc and Proudhon and educate the peasants about the glory of a social republic! Take the revolution to the countryside! The enemy of the underclass is the bourgeoisie and their aristocratic allies!"

Newspaper Article  
From *La Voix de Commune* (The Voice of the Commune)  
Parisian Socialist Newspaper  
6 May, 1848

Document 17

"The National Workshops are bankrupting the Republic. From 25,000 enrolled in the workshops in March, the number has climbed to over 120,000, all living in the working-class neighborhoods of Paris. Additionally, there are another 50,000 unemployed workers in Paris that the workshops can not accommodate. This is not taking into account the thousands of unemployed that stream into Paris each and every day, hoping to receive their two francs from the government. Our recommendation is to discontinue the workshops, before France slides into an economic disaster on the scale with that of 1789."

Jean La Fleux  
Legitimist Deputy  
Speech before the National Assembly  
5 June 1848

Document 18

"A red man is not a man, he is red. The republicans and socialists are all red, they're all the same. The Red is a fallen and degenerate man. The Reds are the enemy of the bourgeoisie, the enemy of the Church and the enemy of France. The Red is not moral and he is not a free man like you and me. Republicanism and socialism are the enemies of France. The red workshops will destroy the Republic and the red Republic will destroy France!"

Henri Wallon  
Orléanist Deputy  
Speech before the National Assembly  
12 June 1848

Document 19

"We must shut down the National Workshops! Enough is enough! Why should the bourgeoisie pay for unemployed workers? Vote to end the red workshops!"

Guione Goudchaux  
Parisian Banker Representative and Legitimist Deputy  
Speech before the National Assembly  
21 June 1848

Document 20

"The National Assembly hereby decrees:

- The abolition of the National Workshops: participants may enlist in the Army.
- The abolition of worker relief consisting of the two franc payment per day."

Legislation of the National Assembly  
22 June 1848



Document 21

"A crisis is looming for the Republic. Since 22 June over 200,000 able-bodied men sit idle in Paris, a city of a million people. Half of the city is unemployed. The economy has been devastated, not only from the National Workshops, but the current government began with a massive deficit, due to the horrible tax years brought on by the harvest disasters of 1841-1847. Barricades are going up in the working class neighborhoods of Saint-Antoine, Rue Traversine and the Ile de la Cité where the working class unemployed is arming themselves for violent confrontation with the government."

Internal Memo  
National Assembly  
23 June 1848

Document 22

"'The enemy' in central and eastern Paris will be crushed by active units from the Regular Army, all recruited from conservative and primarily agrarian provinces in the west. Five regiments should be more than enough to do the job. Middle class units of the National Guard should not be deployed in the street fighting, due to the costly mistakes of 23 February 1848. The Regular Army will cleanse Paris."

General Louis Cavaignac  
Minister of War  
Operations Plan presented to the National Assembly  
23 June 1848

Document 23

"The fighting is intensely brutal and costly since the Reds fight from behind stone and wooden barricades thrown up in the twisting, and narrow cobblestone streets of the working class neighborhoods. Due to the twisting streets, it is difficult to achieve tactical advantage with limited fields of direct fire, though massed artillery fire has proven successful, especially in Rue Traversine. Our casualties are mostly from intense small arms fire from the balconies and windows, as well as severe head wounds from the shower of cobblestones. Unit losses approach over 150 dead, with over 400 dead from 'the enemy.'"

Captain Michelle Entougé  
25<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery  
Action Report  
24 June 1848

Document 24

"The Reds are raping women and girls from the wealthy quarters of Paris and sawing in half captured government troops. Body parts litter the streets and the Seine is flowing red with the blood of the tortured, and massacred."

Story circulating through the Regular Army in Paris  
From an anonymous source  
25 June 1848

Document 25

"Bloody 'June Days' Sweep Paris

"Three days of terrifying class warfare has overtaken the French capital. Between June 24 to June 26, over 20,000 men from the workshops have taken arms and engaged the French Army. Half or more of Paris has become a labyrinth of barricades defended by working class men and women. Government sources confirm over 1000 troops have been killed in the fighting, with over 5,000 insurgent losses. The streets are slick from the gore."

Newspaper Article  
From *The Manchester Guardian*  
27 June 1848

Document 26

"By 26 June the streets of the working class neighborhoods had been swept clean from the insurgents. Seven regiments from the Regular Army participated in the combat. Massed bombardment by artillery fire, followed by musket volleys proved extremely effective, especially when followed by frontal assault on the barricades with fixed bayonets. Government losses were 889 dead, 1287 wounded. Three of our generals were killed in the street fighting. Insurgent losses exceed 6,700. 15,000 prisoners will be brought before war courts and 5000 will be deported to Algeria."

General Louis Cavaignac  
Minister of War  
Report to the National Assembly  
27 June 1848

Document 27

"The atrocities committed by the Army make me shiver. We have all heard what has happened. Many of our people saw the killings with their own eyes. Thousands of prisoners were taken to the cellars of the Tuileries Palace and executed, many with musket fire to the mouth, others with multiple stab wounds to the face, body and groin from army bayonets. Local neighborhood estimates place working class dead between 10,000 to 15,000."

Ernest Renan  
Republican Deputy  
Speech before the National Assembly  
1 July 1848

Document 28

"We would place government casualties at 1700, with over 6000 wounded. The numbers of worker dead range between 13,000 to 16,000. Over 10,000 civilians were wounded. The morgues of Paris are full with the swollen and bloated bodies of the dead, many with multiple gunshot and stab wounds to the head and body. The stench of the rotting corpses is overwhelming and retrieval of the dead is difficult because of the extensive damage and rubble in the working class quarters. The neighborhoods are littered with body parts. Due to the extent of body trauma from close range artillery fire many of the victims can not be identified and will be buried in mass graves outside of the city. Parts of the Seine River are currently clogged up with rotting corpses."

Dr. François Delcroix  
Hôpital de Notre Dame  
3 July 1848

